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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Continuing the

WOMAN'S JOURNAL

Founded 1870

By LUCY STONE *and* HENRY B. BLACKWELL

as a Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Winning Equal Rights and Especially to Winning Equal Suffrage for Women, and published weekly in Boston, Mass., from 1870 to 1917.

Continuing also the

WOMAN VOTER

Founded 1910

By the WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY OF NEW YORK CITY

and the

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Founded 1915

under the name of the "Headquarters News Letter." In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen becomes the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such will try to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN is published weekly by the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, Inc., in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The members of the Commission are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, first vice-president; Mrs. Raymond Robbins, Mrs. Winston Churchill, Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

The editorial offices are at 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief. Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, Betty Graeme, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

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The Woman Citizen

171 Madison Avenue
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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

June 2, 1917

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments."

"Women's Interests"

EVEN to a public gasping under the weight of its excess periodical luggage the *Woman Citizen* can come with an unabashable excuse for entry as second-class mail matter. For it comes with a purpose and a challenge. It comes as a woman's political weekly to help secure votes for women under every flag that floats and its challenge is to the attention of the general public by right of being the official organ of a group of 2,000,000 women who are demanding exactly that link with that public. True, the achievement of its primary purpose seems very near at hand, but on beyond suffrage secured it still sees destiny for women and will endeavor still to be correlated with woman's progress. A correlation which even the casually interested must admit is bound to bring the *Woman Citizen* curiously close to the race's progress.

The *Woman Citizen* recognizes in every woman capacities which make of her a municipal, a state, and a national, as well as a domestic asset. It will follow, as helpfully as may be, her efforts to relate herself with political effectiveness to her home, her town, her state, her country and the world. It will try to reflect her co-ordinated as the world begins to know woman co-ordinated to-day—producer, wage-earner, and citizen, as well as home-maker. The *Woman Citizen* is not turning a cold shoulder upon any of women's already justified and justifiable interests. But it hopes to afford women a mouthpiece for the recognition of other more newly accepted interests not in so fair a way to receive adequate journalistic attention.

We admit that we have been waiting for men to do this, men being capable journalists. But while any number of men are able through exquisitely decorative pages profoundly to absorb themselves in purveying new ideas in tatting, pleasant ideas of love, and unique ideas in gowns as "women's interests," none has been able to see woman's interest in politics and civics as sufficiently massed to call for special journalistic attention.

We don't complain. It is a big world. There is room in it for woman's interest in tatting, in love, in gowns. But the fact that two million women can link together in a quasi-political organization like the National American Woman Suffrage Association shows us that there must be room in it, too, for woman's interest in political and civic responsibility, and that we are right in assuming that since the *Woman Citizen* is here she must and will be recognized.

"A. S. B."

TO one who has any "suffrage background" at all it is possible to call up at will a memorable procession of personalities whose powers and gifts and graces have combined to set and keep the suffrage cause upon its way. They come thronging at memory's summons, these remarkable people, radiant with influence. Orators and organizers and agitators; writers and preachers and prophets and singers; clear-visioned, dynamic men and women, high-minded and eager-hearted, burning with the ideal of democracy—government of, for and by the people—shamed and suffering until all the world recognizes that women are people and woman suffrage is fundamental to democracy. The zeal of the reformer, the leadership of great personalities, the daily martyrdom of misunderstanding and misrepresentation, gifts of oratory, of beauty, of wealth and social prestige all have gone into the projection of this invincible suffrage cause.

And, sharply limned among them all, "A. S. B."

For a generation this crisp combination of letters has been vivid with an identity and a significance of its own to all the reading, campaigning, speech-making suffrage world. For years, initialed to editorials in the *Woman's Journal*, they have been the final sign, the end-mark, of authoritative suffrage statement. For years questions of fact and historical accuracy have gone up to them as to a high tribunal of journalistic judgment. True to journalistic integrity, measuring values, verifying facts, the editorials above them have been like tempered steel, swift in their stroke, sure in their effects. Again and again they have been the means of projecting a barrage, a curtain of suffrage shot and shell, a pitiless fire of logic and peppery humor, back of which the suffrage hosts could come marching on.

Behind the letters stands a frail figure with burning eyes, Alice Stone Blackwell, scholar, poet, public speaker. At every suffrage convention she is present, as necessary to the proceedings as the minutes, often as impersonal. And hers is a familiar figure before House Judiciary Committee or Senate Suffrage Committee, showing up the absurdities of the opponents of woman suffrage, ridiculing, analyzing, checkmating.

But where one hundred people know Alice Stone Blackwell, the woman, thousands know "A. S. B.," the editor. To her lot has fallen the continuation of the great work in propagandistic journalism, initiated by her gifted father and mother, Henry B. Blackwell and Lucy Stone. Pioneers in the field, they built up

an enterprise compact of ideals, faith and endless generosity. Suffrage journalism has never been, could never be, a business to this historic family of suffrage journalists. It has been a duty, a joy, a consecration and an expense.

To the public the project of a woman's political weekly may come with the edge on, novel, unprecedented. There is nothing novel to suffragists in the project or the fact. For forty-seven years suffragists have recognized a woman's political weekly in the *Woman's Journal*, and if the general public has not done so, so much the worse for that public. There can be no over-estimating the value to the suffrage cause of the *Woman's Journal* in its long and vivid career. It has gone before and it has followed after; it has pointed the way and closed the gaps; it has been history maker and history recorder for the suffrage cause. The suffrage success of to-day is not conceivable without the *Woman's Journal's* part in it. But it is easily conceivable that without the *Woman's Journal* suffrage would be lagging miles behind its present record.

It was a fine heritage that came on to A. S. B. with the *Woman's Journal* and nobly has she lived up to it. It is a fine heritage that she hands on to the *Woman Citizen* and earnestly will the new magazine try to live up to it. Great cause for rejoicing is found in the fact that in this endeavor her help is pledged. If anything can reconcile the suffrage world to losing the *Woman's Journal* and "A. S. B." it will be gaining "A. S. B." and the *Woman Citizen*.

C. C. C.

Votes for New York Women

ON November 6 New York voters will again have an opportunity to vote on woman suffrage. It is New York's last chance to act on this important measure on her own initiative. Long before the time needed to institute another referendum woman suffrage will be an accomplished fact by Federal enactment.

New York needs women's votes.

She needs them because with her women unenfranchised, every day of her corporate existence she is outraging the fundamntal concept of democracy, outraging the fundamental law of the individual's growth—the right of self-government.

Everybody has some sense of that right. In women, even in the most rudimentary women, it has evolved amazingly in the last century. They may not have given it the political name of woman suffrage in earlier crises but they have given it such names as the right to the gainful occupation, the right to an education, the right to their property, the right to their children, the right to their own persons. All of these are but rights of self-government. It is the right that comprehends all others, all real progress. Women cannot be held back from that right in New York any more than in Russia or in England, or in North Dakota, or in Rhode Island.

ON May 7 Governor Cutts, of Florida, signed a special act giving to the women of Orange City the right to vote on all municipal elections. With the addition of Orange City and West Palm Beach, Florida now has five specks of white upon her dark expanse.

Belva Lockwood

WHEN Belva Lockwood died in Washington recently there passed a woman pioneer who had not failed to make her contribution to the advance of womanhood.

Too individualistic for concerted effort, Mrs. Lockwood was never a standard-bearer of the suffrage associations of her time, although they were ever ready to acknowledge the service she rendered women. As the first woman lawyer to press relentlessly her demand for admittance to the bar, from state to state, charging each Legislature with new spirit and vigor, until she reached the highest tribunal of the nation, she won the gratitude of the multitude of women lawyers who followed in her wake. In her picturesque onslaughts upon political conventions Belva Lockwood may have added to the gaiety of nations. When she ran for the presidency in the eighties she may have invited the laughter of the gods. But, after all, she knew what she was doing. Looking down the vistas of the future she must have seen that she was making easier the way for those who came after. Gentle Jeannette Rankin in 1917 finds her position as a member of Congress the more tenable because of the sturdy audacity of Belva Lockwood in 1888.

Suffrage in Mexico

ASTOUNDING as it may be to Uncle Sam's laggard democracy, it seems to be an incontrovertible fact that under the constitution of Mexico women are eligible as voters. In another column Señor Bonillas, of the Mexican Embassy, sets forth the facts in the case. As long ago as last November word came through the press that woman suffrage was an established fact in Yucatan. This news seems to have been an inference from the action of the liberal Governor of Yucatan, Salvador Alvarado, in calling two congresses of Mexican women during the year 1916, and in showing other signs of a marked disposition to insure governmental recognition to women. To the query, "What would happen if Yucatan women went to the polls to vote," Señor Bonillas replies, "they would be hampered in some localities and in others every facility would be afforded them for the exercise of their right to make use of the suffrage."

More astounding still is the fact that women are not only eligible to vote in Mexico; they have voted, unmolested, even facilitated. This was in Mexico City at the 1917 election, in March.

The Mexican Federal constitution is explicit. Voters are "those Mexicans" who are 21, if unmarried, and over 18, if married, and possessed of an honest means of livelihood. Women can qualify as easily as men on both those counts, in Mexico as elsewhere. Unless indeed some inhibitory construction is to be placed upon the status of wives and mothers as not being wage-earners and therefore not possessed of "an honest means of livelihood." It is eminently satisfactory that the wording of the Mexican constitution leaves this issue so clear that its befuddling will be impossible if it is ever brought forward. For a swift conclusion of this and all other issues pertinent to woman suffrage in Mexico it only remains for the women of all Mexico to follow the lead of the women in Mexico City—go to the polls and vote.

A Greeting

THIS first issue of the *Woman Citizen* goes to the combined subscription lists of the *Woman's Journal,* the *Woman Voter* and the *National Suffrage News.* "In union there is strength," and we hope that the consolidated paper will be better than any one of the three has been in the past. It will certainly go out with greater joy and cheer since today the end of the long struggle for equal suffrage is plainly in sight.

In greeting her new readers, the former editor of the *Woman's Journal* wishes to say how much she shall miss the *Woman Voter* and the *National Suffrage News.* The *News* was always as full of valuable matter as a nut is of meat; and the *Woman Voter* was one of the best-edited suffrage papers that the present writer has ever seen, in a newspaper experience extending over many years during which she had on her exchange list a large number of journals devoted to equal rights, published in this country and abroad.

The day seems to be fast coming when there will be no need for woman suffrage papers, as such. In the meantime these three friends and colleagues will go in unitedly to win the war, with a long pull, a strong pull and a pull all together.

A. S. B.

The Victory in England

BY a vote of more than eight to one, the British House of Commons has gone on record in favor of the ballot for women. Three hundred and twenty-nine to forty is "some majority." And even the handful who voted against the bill were not all of them opponents of woman suffrage. The measure widened the franchise for men, and hence was obnoxious to ultra conservatives for reasons quite apart from its woman suffrage feature. The vote shows the small proportions to which the once big and formidable opposition in England has dwindled.

Many American suffragists will feel mortified that we have allowed the mother country to "beat us to it." The United States was the cradle of the modern movement in behalf of equal rights for women and it ought to have led the world in this reform, instead of letting itself be outstripped by Norway, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, and now by Russia and Great Britain. In doing political justice to women, however, we shall not remain long behind, and in the meanwhile we have every reason to rejoice over the splendid English triumph.

Once when the British steamship Calliope and three German steamers were lying in a harbor of Samoa, a terrible cyclone swept down upon them. All dragged their anchors and were drifting ashore. They got up steam and tried to make their way out to sea; but the only one that could clear the harbor was the Calliope, which had engines of uncommon power. After a hard fight, she at last steamed out to sea, straight in the teeth of the tremendous winds. The crews of the other ships had watched her struggle with eagerness, and when they saw that she was going to escape, they cheered, although they themselves were going down. The incident touched the heart of the world profoundly when it happened, nearly thirty years ago. If they could cheer for another ship's success, even in the face of their own destruction, much more can we rejoice in England's victory, when all of us are going to get out of the imprisoning harbor, and the strong British steamer will help to tow out the whole fleet. For the example of "the Mother of Parliaments" cannot fail to have a great effect, all the world over; and especially in the United States. Can our Congressmen bear to have their own American wives and mothers debarred from privileges that are now granted to women throughout almost the whole of the English-speaking world, as well as in an ever-lengthening list of nations in Europe? We do not believe this. It ought to have been "America First." Now let us make it "America Next."

A. S. B.

Catching Up with Russia

EVEN Russia will get the start of us in enfranchising women, unless Congress and the State Legislatures move with speed.

Now that it is clear women are to have suffrage everywhere, there is a good deal of emulation to have it first. The presidential suffrage bill passed the Legislature in Ohio before it did in Indiana, but the Governor of Ohio did not sign it for several days. Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton went and camped down in his ante room, determined not to leave without seeing him. When he was able to give her an interview, she said:

"Governor Cox, the suffrage bill passed in Ohio before it did in Indiana, but if you do not look out, the Governor of Indiana will sign before you do, and then Indiana will get it first."

Governor Cox explained that the suffrage bill had been held up by a delay in the printing, but that as soon as it reached him he should sign it; and he did.

Several Southern States were emulous to be the first in the South to give women the ballot. Tennessee just missed it, and Arkansas stepped in ahead. Vermont and Rhode Island are already pulling caps as to which ought to be called the first New England State, Vermont having been the first to extend municipal and township suffrage to women, and Rhode Island the first to give them the presidential vote. The chance is now open to Maine to be the first to give its women the whole loaf.

But the great thing to be desired is to put the United States, as a nation, as near the head of the procession as possible. The foremost places are all taken; but unless Russia gets ahead of us, we may be the next in line.

A. S. B.

The Thin Veneer

ACCORDING to the press reports, three million illegitimate children have been born in Germany since the beginning of the war. In Berlin, the number is increasing by 20,000 annually. In some cities almost half of the children born during the past year were born out of wedlock. The government is said to be systematically cultivating the idea that it is a patriotic duty for all women, married or single, to replenish the population. In consequence, millions of young unmarried girls have become mothers, and the number is constantly growing.

It shows how thin is the veneer of Christianity and civilization over the depths of essential barbarism in some aspects of our modern life.

To the women of their own families men are kind and tender, anxious for their welfare, careful to protect them from moral dangers. But in dealing with womanhood in the abstract, masculine public opinion, as crystallized in government, has been apt to look upon women mainly as a convenience, and to consider almost wholly their material utility to men and to the State, with very little eye to the higher spiritual values that women ought to bring, both to their families and to the community. It is the case with all governments in which women have no voice, but it is more markedly so in Europe than in America. Hence the legal subjugation of wife to husband in marriage, the licensing of prostitution, the double standard of morals, and a whole train of resultant evils.

In his book on "Prostitution in Europe," Dr. Simon Flexner points out that the laws of European countries have been made by men alone, and mostly by "cynical men," with a low opinion of women. He adds that in Europe the belief that illicit indulgence is necessary for men has been almost universal, and that it is only with the rise of the woman movement that it has begun to be seriously questioned. From this attitude of mind it is only a short step to the view that if there is a shortage of men, all women should be set to breed, without regard to their morals. For what must be the effect upon any country's spiritual future of inducing millions of girls to become mothers without love, without any permanent connection with the fathers of their children, and without any prospect of being able to give those children a father's guiding care?

All governments where women have no voice take a one-sided view of the woman question, but Prussia has been particularly "androcentric" (to use Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman's word), and also particularly despotic in its attitude towards both men and women, treating them too much like pawns upon a checkerboard. The kaiser has been like the king described by Christina Rossetti in "A Royal Princess":

"My father counting up his strength sets down with equal pen
So many head of horses, head of cattle, head of men,
These for slaughter, those for labor, with the how and when."

In the United States, where women have great social influence, they have generally been able to head off the attempts to license prostitution. Here the tendency of government to sacrifice the spiritual value of women to their utilitarian value has been shown especially in letting them be worked long hours in shops and factories, risking their lives recklessly, as in Triangle fires, and permitting such labor conditions as sap their vitality and leave them no chance for mental growth or for robust motherhood. This tendency, too, has been accentuated by the war. We are not wholly in a position to throw stones at Germany.

Many things are tending to lower the ethical standards on sex questions—the unsettling effects of war, the trying economic conditions, the transition period in religious ideas, and the inflocking for years past of immigrants from many foreign countries where the prevailing views about women and morals are comparatively lax. If our standards are to be kept high, it is the women who will have to take the lead in doing it; and, in order to uphold them successfully, they will need every help that they can have, including the power and dignity conferred by the possession of the ballot.

In the meanwhile, the situation reported from Germany is a curious commentary upon the idea that the exclusion of women from suffrage promotes good morals. Some little time ago, in her book on "Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia," Katherine Anthony mentioned that one of the women's organizations in Germany preached a "new morality," which claimed that women might rightly have children otherwise than under monogamy. She added that its program was disapproved by the principal women's rights organizations of Germany, which believed in monogamic marriage, but without its proprietary feature, i. e., without the doctrine that the husband owns his wife and is entitled to "boss" her. This is the ideal of the great bulk of intelligent women everywhere.

American opponents of suffrage raised a great outcry, and maintained that the very existence in Germany of a small society of women holding these opinions was a proof that equal suffrage meant free love, even though the big and leading women's rights organizations in Germany were stanch upholders of monogamy. Now, however, when a particularly anti-woman's rights government is encouraging the production of illegitimate children on a colossal scale, not a single American opponent will admit that the anti-suffrage cause is "allied" with free love. Never again should they have the face to bring that false accusation against the suffragists.

A. S. B.

House Suffrage Committee

JUST why the supposedly democratic branch of the Congress of the United States should have been, for a generation, the hot-bed of hostility to the most fundamentally democratic measure of the century is a riddle that waits the reading of the Sphinx. It is a fact, however, that the Lower House has refused recognition to the issue of woman suffrage with a tightness of mind that would do credit to a squink. Back in 1880 Hon. John D. White, of Kentucky, presented a resolution calling for the appointment of a committee on the Rights of Women. Nothing came of the effort that year, but in 1882 a House Committee was finally named. The next Congress promptly voted the Committee out of existence.

From that time to this no facilitation of the woman suffrage question has been afforded by the House other than the scant attention given it by the Judiciary Committee. It is an anomalous situation and an inexcusable one. The creation of a Suffrage Committee for the House is now before the Rules Committee backed by President Wilson and Speaker Clark. Friends of suffrage in the Rules Committee should allow no minor considerations to deflect this opportunity to help get the House safe for democracy.

Since the Supreme Court has affirmed the right of Ohio's women to vote at municipal elections, Columbus, Cincinnati, Springfield, and Toledo have started suffrage campaigns.

Votes for Women in Mexico

THE WOMAN CITIZEN is indebted to Señor Y. Bonillas, of the Mexican Embassy, at Washington, D. C., for some highly illuminating information with regard to woman suffrage in Mexico. In the first place, Senor Bonillas points out that there is nothing in Mexico's constitution that can be interpreted as prohibiting women from voting. Qualifications of citizenship are cited in the constitution as follows:

Mexican citizenship shall be enjoyed only by those Mexicans who have the following qualifications:

I. Are over 21 years of age, if unmarried, and over 18, if married.

II. Have an honest means of livelihood.

The prerogatives of citizens are:

I. To vote at popular elections.

II. To be eligible for any elective office and be qualified for any other office or commission, provided they have the other qualifications required by law.

According to Señor Bonillas the exercise of the franchise is up to the women and already they are availing themselves of it. Señor Bonillas says that he can state positively that women voted in the City of Mexico in the last Presidential and Congressional election, and their votes were counted. "This I know personally because I was in Mexico at the time (Sunday, March 11th, 1917), and took great interest and participated in the election."

It will be remembered that Señorita Hermila Galindo made a gallant campaign for election to the Mexican Congress at that time. Oversanguine press reports had her elected at first, but it was learned subsequently that she was defeated in a close race. Señor Bonillas now establishes the point that women's votes as well as men's were cast for her.

"I assure you," he writes, "that previous to the Madero revolution in 1911, hardly any interest was taken in the general or national elections by a male population that participated to a slight degree only in local, state, and municipal elections. The explanation is that from the earliest historical times the country was governed by authorities appointed by the Crown of Spain, up to the end of the Colonial Epoch in 1821. Consequently no true spirit of democracy prevailed, and after the consummation of independence in the year above cited, the country was ruled by autocratic, despotic governments imposed by a coalition of the Church, the Army and the governing classes of Colonial times, composed of the ex-nobility and their descendants.

"If the historical conditions were so adverse to the development of interest in suffrage among men, consider how much greater the disadvantages must be for women in a population composed almost exclusively of Roman Catholics! And yet, in an environment so unpropitious for the development of feminine interest in public affairs, numerous instances could be cited of womanly devotion in matters of national importance in the past.

"The part that woman has taken in the conflict that is just coming to an end in Mexico for the triumph of democracy leaves every reasonable hope that when she understands fully the advantage of the proper use of suffrage she will not be slow to improve her opportunity in as creditable a manner as her sisters in other nations under similar circumstances.

"The probability is that since there is no express Constitutional provisional for woman suffrage it will be left to the States to legislate on the subject at such a time as the women themselves wake up to their opportunities and agitate the subject with the same interest and devotion as women of other nations are bestowing on the noble cause."

In the light of this it will be difficult for suffragists ever again to hear with equanimity Mexico characterized as "darkest."

"Very Largely a War Question"

MANY a traditional approach to war questions has been blasted into the limbo of discarded things by the guns of Europe. Among others those twin children of tradition, the notion that the woman-power of a nation is not to be directly utilized in war work, and the notion that woman suffrage is not a war question. The seasoned conviction of the men who are directing Europe's vast war problems is to one and the same effect. Woman suffrage is a war measure. Read here what they say.

Premier Lloyd George

"Women's work in the war has been a vital contribution to our success. It would have been impossible to produce that overwhelming mass of ammunition at the Somme, had it not been for the work of women. They have shown a devotion, a zeal, a courage which are beyond challenge. Are you going to fling them out without a voice in determining the new conditions? It would be an outrage. It would be unjust, inequitable. That is why the woman question has become very largely a war question."

Ex-Premier Asquith

"The House will not be unprepared to hear that I myself, and I believe many others, no longer regard this question (of woman suffrage) from the standpoint which we occupied before the war. I think some years ago I ventured to use the expression, 'Let the women work out their own salvation.' That is what they have done during this war. *How could we have carried on the war without them?* What moves me still more is the problem of reconstruction after the war. Questions which will necessarily arise in regard to women's labor and women's functions are questions in regard to which I for my part feel it impossible, consistently with either justice or expediency, to withhold from women the power and the right of making their voices distinctly heard."

Sir Wilfred Laurier

"Today as we see the glorious part that noble woman is taking in service and sacrifice for the highest and best in civilization, my own belief is that there is no reason why she should be denied the right of the ballot."

Premier Hearst, Canada

"Having taken our women into partnership with us in our tremendous undertaking, I ask, can we justly deny them a share in the government of the country, the right to have a say about the making of the laws they have been so heroically trying to defend? My answer is, I think not."

Premier Boselli, Italy

"As far as the woman vote for municipal elections is concerned, I do not think there can be either doubt or delay in giving it on the same conditions as it is given to men."

Signor Sacchi

Italian Minister of Justice, presenting in February, 1917, to the Italian Chamber a bill the object of which is the abrogation of every law which, in the field of civil and commercial rights, curtails the capacities of women, declared it "an act of justice—of reparation almost—to which women have now more right than ever."

Monsieur Pierre Etienne Flandin

"What French women have done to keep up the courage of the nation during the dark days cannot be measured in words. They have been the backbone of national defense. They should have the right to vote, first of all, as an act of justice and, secondly, as a move dictated by public interest."

Grand Duke Michael of Russia

"I urge upon all citizens of Russia to submit to the Provisional Government, until such time as the constituent assembly, on a basis of universal, direct, equal and secret suffrage, shall express the will of the people."

Keeping Up W

You can't club or scold or preach women into ugly clothes that have nothing to do with the case. Talk "dress reform" to the high-heeled woman whom society has impressed and reimpressed that her "simple doom is to be sweet" and she laughs in her skin-tight or leg o' mutton sleeve, according to the year, and the whim of it. But let real occasion arise for a practical dress to meet a national need and behold!

All over America today suffragists are leading a back-to-the-land movement in response to the nation's call for greater production of foodstuffs. They have put their hand to the plow and are not turning back. The woman with the hoe is easily discernible just back of the man with the gun. Suffrage schools of agriculture are already in operation. "Suffrage war gardens" have been

BY HER OWN EXERTIONS

Mrs. Ruth Litt, Chairman of the Suffrage Agriculture Committee for the State of New York, has evolved a service uniform that is at once chic and practicable. Mrs. Litt is a practical farmer of East Patchogue, L. I. By her own exertions she created a model estate from an abandoned farm. Her "own exertions" include plowing, sawing wood, fertilizing, etc.

GREAT FOR GIRLS

THE SUFFRAGE BLOUSE

It was Miss Agnes Morgenthau, a leader among the "Y. S. S." (Younger Suffrage Set) who recommended that a "ready-to-wear - to - anything - and - not - at - all - expensive suffrage blouse" would meet a long-felt want among suffragists. A manufacturer has acted upon her suggestion and placed the above garment on the market.

YOU MIG

Just because w doesn't have t Patterns of na for agricultura Garden bloom long, sun-hats, blouses, short tle Norfolks, terns for the guidance.

With the Plow

planted. Suffrage canning centres are projected. A suffragist chairman of agriculture has been appointed in every State in the Union, "Chairmen of Potatoes" being the title in which they rejoice. Almost at once came the discovery that some sort of "service uniform" was desirable, aye, inevitable. You can't plow and you can't hoe in garments that trail, or garments that constrict. Can you even can?

Through Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, the Chairman of its National Committee on Suffrage Agriculture, the National American Woman Suffrage Association is attempting to find the service uniform *par excellence* for those of its 2,000,000 members who are engaged in this work. Do you see anything here that you like?

ANOTHER DISCOVERY

Suffrage farmers have discovered the ready-to-wear overalls which are proving so advantageous a work uniform for women in mills and factories. A skirt that can be worn with the bloomers and blouse on the right is shown in the adjoining picture. The apron front overalls require a blouse or sweater accessory.

A Khaki farmerette suit with skirt attachment for "W. S. S. A." (National Suffrage Service for Agriculture).

MAKE YOURS

woman farms she look like a frump. y service uniforms work are available. s, both short and Khaki suits, military irts, be-pocketed lit- all be had in pat- home dressmaker's

CHAIRMAN OF SUFFRAGE POTATOES

Mrs. Ruth Litt, mistress of "Jackwill," believes in doing with your might what your farm needs to have done. Mrs. Litt's seamstress made this "service uniform."

Concerning Woman Suffrage in Russia

By J. G. Ohsol, Member of the Second Russian Duma

MANY Americans have expressed great surprise at the news that the Russian provisional government is going to grant equal, universal, direct, and secret suffrage to all Russian citizens of both sexes over 20 years of age.

Striking as it was, this message, for several good reasons, did not come entirely unexpectedly to those who know something about Russia.

The agitation for woman suffrage among the middle classes has been carried on in Russia for decades, and it was growing in intensity and volume just prior to the present war. The Russian Woman's Mutual Aid Society* was founded as far back as 1895, and has shown great activity, not only for woman's rights, but also in several other reform movements. It has lent a helping hand during periods of national distress, such as famines, floods, wars. Among its dozen subdivisions the twelfth, organized in 1906, is directly concerned with the agitation for woman's suffrage. It will be remembered that only in April of 1906 did the Russian men gain their first step in national suffrage, electing the first Duma, which was, however, dissolved by the Czar after 72 days.

First Woman's Conference

Owing to the relentless activities of this "twelfth subdivision," the first National Russian Woman's Conference was called in Petrograd in 1908 in the midst of an all-stifling reaction. This Conference initiated a strong campaign for the establishing of a special Institute for the education of women factory inspectors, and for the appointing of women factory inspectors. It is needless to add that the reactionary government paid no attention to these demands.

With the creation of the League for Equal Rights for Women** the agitation for woman's suffrage received a new impetus. Immediately the First National Russian Convention for the promotion of education of women was called together in 1912. This historical gathering was attended by 1115 members, heard 173 reports, and passed 73 resolutions concerning women's interests and on other topics of social reform. Its proceedings are embodied in two large volumes. This League had its representatives at the conventions of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance at Stockholm and at Budapest.

Just prior to the outbreak of the present war a vigorous campaign was inaugurated in the Duma with a view to securing the adoption of a bill providing for woman suffrage in national elections. This bill was introduced in the Duma on February 13, 1913, by the deputy Boulat, a member of the Toilers' group, representing the peasants' interests, and signed by 40 Duma members. On the same date another bill, providing for the appointment of women factory inspectors, was introduced, signed by 33 members, among others by Miliukov, Shingarev, and Konovalov, now members of the provisional government.

In October of the same year a bill abolishing the humiliating police registration of prostitutes was introduced and pushed both in the Duma and at mass meetings outside. This bill was presented by deputy Shingarev, now minister of Agriculture, and was signed by 44 members; among them were all physicians who happened to be in the Duma.

A Lively Agitation

During the municipal campaign of Petrograd in 1913 the women waged a lively agitation to induce the most reactionary Petrograd City Council to recommend to the Duma a bill granting municipal suffrage to women. At that time a complete canvass of prospective women voters under the then restricted male suffrage law was made. It showed that, if this suffrage had been applied on equal terms to women, 6408 women would have been able to vote at the municipal elections. For a city of two million people, half of whom were women, this shows the utter inadequacy of the mere "equal suffrage" demand without the adjective "universal."

Almost at the same time a bill admitting women lawyers to the bar was worked out by the Petrograd Society of Women Lawyers, an outgrowth of the Special Committee on Women Lawyers, organized within the League of Equal Rights.

Other Public Activities

During the present war this League has organized courses of training of war nurses, asylums for children of war refugees in various cities, and feeding stations for war refugees.

By 1915 there were over seventy clubs for women throughout Russia, aside from the above-mentioned national organizations. Only those who know something about the obstacles to be overcome in securing charters and permits to hold meetings under the old régime will realize the tremendous efforts made by women to effect such organizations.

The "Woman's Affairs" (Zhenskoie Dielo) might be regarded as the official organ of the suffrage forces.

The First Woman's Almanac (Pervyi Zhenskii Kalendar), appearing for nineteen years, is a well-edited yearbook and a valuable source of information on woman suffrage.

Russian women are employed in about all industries. They have always played a large part in agriculture; and by the year 1911, when there were 1,412,921 registered male factory workers, there were 638,277 female workers in Russia subject to factory laws. The factory inspectors reported that in the same year 20.5 per cent of all wage earners employed in the paper printing industries, 34.1 per cent of all wage earners in the chemical industry, and 52 per cent in the textile industries were women. And, what is still more significant, the number of women wage earners had increased during the decade 1901-1911 nearly *four times as fast* as the number of males; the percentage of increase being 33.8 per cent for women and only 8.6 per cent for men.

The present war, with its unparalleled destruction of male labor, has enormously increased the importance of woman in all walks of life. She has conquered new trades, such as street-car conductors' and motormen's places, new posts in government offices and elsewhere. The medical profession and teaching, to which women were admitted even prior to the present war, have naturally drawn more and more women during the war.

Likewise in the rural districts the peasant women have taken a stronger hold on agriculture and on the affairs of the village administration. In the peasant commune (Mir) the head of the household is the voter. The absence of the male head has perforce left these affairs in the hands of the women, thus preparing the way for the enfranchisement of the rural women.

Women in the Revolution

None of the above factors alone could have brought about such a sudden and complete enfranchisement of women. Their political strength lay in their free and wholehearted participation in all political movements of Russia on an equal footing with men. The Russian revolutionists never thought of organizing separate branches for women, calling separate meetings, or printing separate leaflets for them. Woman has been always regarded as the equal of man among those forces which led and won the present revolution. Indeed, it would have been utterly impossible to maintain secret headquarters and printing presses for revolutionary literature without the full cooperation of women.

And Russian women have borne their full share of sacrifices for the present victory. The prison wardens never showered any courtesies upon them, and the hangman's noose did not spare their necks. As far back as 1825 the wives of the "Decembrists," the first real revolutionists of Russia, braved the horrors of the Siberian dungeons and shared the hardest lot with their husbands. And since that time there

(*Continued on page* 17)

* With headquarters at 1—Spasskaia, Petrograd, Russia. Mrs. A. N. Shibanowa, president.

** With headquarters at 20 Znamenskaia, Petrograd, Russia. Dr. P. N. Shishkina-Yavein, president.

America and the Immigrant

A Suffragist Strikes the Balance

FOUR things the National American Woman Suffrage Association set out to do in the face of war. I, To protect women workers from exploitation. II, To increase food production. III, To help in Red Cross Work. IV, To Americanize the alien. Programs of activity are now in full swing on all four counts. How suffragists are taking upon themselves responsibility for the immigrant peoples shut within America's gates makes an interesting story in itself.

"A problem unknown to other lands will become accentuated in the event of war. Within our borders are 8,000,000 aliens who by birth, tradition and training will find it difficult, if not impossible, to understand the causes which have led to the war. War invariably breeds intolerance and hatred inimical to the best interests of a nation. With the desire to minimize this danger our Association, extending as it does into every precinct of our great cities and into the various counties of the States, offers to conduct classes in school centers wherein national allegiance shall be taught, emphasizing tolerance, to the end that the Stars and Stripes shall wave over a loyal, patriotic and undivided people." So read one paragraph of the note of the Executive Council of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, to the President and Government of the United States, February 25, 1917.

Today the National American Woman Suffrage Association's Committee on Americanization has been organized with Mrs. F. P. Bagley, of Boston, as chairman. Mrs. Bagley is a member of the Committee of the Women's War Council, a sub-committee appointed by Samuel Gompers, member of the Advisory Commission of the National Council of Defense; is chairman of organization for the Boston Equal Suffrage Association, and chairman of the Americanization committee of that association.

In her own inimitable way Mrs. Bagley tells how she came to identify herself with the problems of the immigrant. One listens, warmed by her personal interest, her quick sympathy, and keen understanding of the difficulties confronting the foreigner in a foreign land.

"I first became interested in the immigrant," said Mrs. Bagley, "in Chicago, where my husband owned a large Italian tenement. I drifted into Hull House, as do most Chicago women when they begin to want to help other people, and got quite interested in the work there among the foreign population. One day it suddenly dawned on me that I had a foreign population of my own right under my nose in my own tenement, and the place for me was among my own immigrant tenants. I didn't care for that tenement's condition at all when I became acquainted with it. I got my husband to let me take entire charge of it. I collected all the rents, attended to all the repairs, looked after the welfare of my people, and took a keen personal interest in their affairs. And I want to say right here that I didn't go in for any 'reforming' of my tenants. I did not take myself as the arbiter of their moral destiny. I just liked them and wanted to help them where I could, and felt a human interest in everything they did.

"Our tenement was down in the First Ward, the habitat of the Gray Wolves; Hinkey-Dink and Bath-House John and Annie Carlo, Queen of the Italians, were all confréres of mine. We all worked together, for in spite of their many

MRS. F. P. BAGLEY,
Chairman of Americanization Committee, National American Woman Suffrage Association. "And right here I would like to say a word on the foreignization of Americans."

shortcomings Hinkey-Dink and Bath-House John were good to the immigrants in many ways; they looked after them when they landed and helped them to jobs and took care of them when they were sick. Annie Carlo, who was called Queen of the Italians, was my right-hand woman. She was quite a political factor in those days; she knew her people and how they could best be reached. I made one of the tenements into a hall and put in a piano, and we used to give entertainments and had our social times there. Every Christmas we had a Christmas tree. I ran the tenement for eight years, giving it my personal supervision and becoming more interested in the immigrant all the time.

"So perhaps it was natural for me to identify myself with the interests of the foreigners in the field of Americanization when the Boston Equal Suffrage Association issued its plan for war relief."

"Will you tell how you were able to get in touch with such large numbers of foreigners through your Boston Equal Suffrage Association? Would your methods in Boston be applicable generally?"

"Why not? The Swede is a Swede whether he lives in Boston or New York, the Italian is an Italian whether he lives in Washington or Sacramento. We got in touch with our foreign population by trying to get their point of view before we tried to make them get ours. And right here I would like to say a word on the foreignization of Americans. We don't try to understand the art and poetry of the Italian nature, the psychology of the Russian, the simple virtues of the Scandinavian. No, we want them to turn right in and be Americans. But let me tell you, there is more poetry and beauty in the life of the Italian settlement of Boston than there is in all the Back Bay neighborhood and the Newtons combined.

"Well, we got the Italians interested through their schools. The head of the Eliot School of Boston is an Italian, also a suffragist. Through the introductions he gave our organizers we secured a committee to plan the Italian meetings. At the first one the hall was decorated by Italians with the Italian colors, the American flag on one side of the platform, the Italian flag on the other. The school orchestra furnished the music, Italian singers sang Italian songs. The speaking was in Italian. At one point in the program the young girls who had assisted in decorating the hall and working up our audiences came in in native costume and danced the tarantella. Fifteen minutes before the time for the meeting the doors had to be closed. The hall was packed with young Italian men. The meeting was enthusiastic and the discussion very earnest. One fiery young Italian objected to women having the vote because if they had the vote "they would no longer be good mothers and take care of the babies and children." That has given us our clue for our next Italian meeting. We are going to feature babies. Suffragists are going to show how to feed them, how to take care of them, how to protect them during the summer heat. We are going to distribute literature on how to care for babies, printed in Italian, and we shall show on the screen mothers and babies in various attractive ways. We find the screen is a great educator and very popular. All the foreigners like pictures.

"Our next meeting was held in a ward where the population was composed mainly of Russian Jews. We used the stereopticon and featured

(Continued on page 18)

The Congressional Situation

By Maud Wood Park, Chairman of Congressional Committee, N. A. W. S. A.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S program of emergency war legislation, followed by the decision of the leaders in both houses of Congress to admit no other legislation at the special session, has necessarily complicated and retarded the work for the federal suffrage amendment. It has been possible, however, for the Congressional Committee of the National Association to make some progress.

The House situation, by reason of its immediate difficulties, is the first concern. Under existing rules our measure, being a constitutional amendment, is referred to the Judiciary Committee. This committee has so many duties that it has never time for full consideration of the suffrage question. The best the Judiciary Committee has ever done for the suffrage resolution is to report it without recommendation, and even this action was obtained with greatest difficulty and after long delay. A woman suffrage committee, on the other hand, corresponding to the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage, has long been desired as a labor-saving device and an actual necessity in our congressional work.

In the House

Resolutions to create such a committee were introduced in the House at the beginning of this session and referred to the Rules Committee. Especially at this period, when there is no immediate chance to secure action on our amendment itself, we have thought it good policy to turn our energies to securing this bit of machinery instead of trying to force the amendment out of the Judiciary Committee. Our efforts have been, accordingly, devoted to the object of securing the woman suffrage committee, in the belief that to appear before the Judiciary Committee while we were asking for action from another committee would put us at a disadvantage with both.

Our work for the establishment of the woman suffrage committee began early in April, when Mrs. Catt sought and obtained the approval of Speaker Clark and a promise of his assistance in gaining such a committee. At the same time the six members of the House who had introduced the suffrage resolution—namely, Representatives Raker, Rankin, Keating, Taylor, Hayden, and Mondell—formed a voluntary committee to circulate and present a petition to the Rules Committee from the members of Congress from suffrage States asking for the creation of a suffrage committee. This committee of Congressmen and the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association requested Chairman Pou of the Rules Committee to grant a hearing on the question.

Meantime we learned that the chance of securing favorable action by the Rules Committee was complicated by the impression that this might conflict with the President's legislative program. To clear up this doubt President Wilson himself, on request of Mrs. Catt through Mrs. Helen Gardener of our Congressional Committee, wrote a letter to Chairman Pou endorsing the idea of a suffrage committee as "a wise move of public policy."

Under these favorable conditions, i. e., with a recommendation from both the President and the Speaker of the House, the Rules Committee held a hearing Friday morning, May 18, with every member of the committee present. Those members are as follows:

DEMOCRATS

Edward W. Pou, of North Carolina
Finis J. Garrett of Tennessee
Martin D. Foster, of Illinois
James C. Cantrill, of Kentucky
Pat Harrison, of Mississippi
Daniel J. Riordan, of New York
M. Clyde Kelly, of Pennsylvania

REPUBLICANS

Thomas D. Schall, of Minnesota
Philip P. Campbell, of Kansas
Irvine L. Lenroot, of Wisconsin
William R. Wood, of Indiana
Bertrand H. Snell, of New York

Representative Raker, of California, in behalf of the committee of Congressmen who had worked up the petition, and our Congressional Committee, in behalf of the National Association, made the request for the hearing.

For the National Association Mrs. Park and Mrs. Gardener spoke and presented written arguments from Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Catt, neither of whom could be present. For the committee of Congressmen the speakers were Representatives Raker, of California; Rankin, of Montana; Taylor and Keating, of Colorado; Mondell, of Wyoming; Hayden, of Arizona; McArthur, of Oregon, and O'Shaunessy, of Rhode Island. Judge Raker presented the petition from the suffrage Congressmen, 85 in number, including the solid delegations of all the equal suffrage States except such members as are members of the Rules or Judiciary Committees, and the solid delegations of all the Presidential suffrage States except Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio, whose complete round had not been made at that date.

In view of the recommendations of both President Wilson and Speaker Clark, the friendly attitude of Chairman Pou, and the offer of Representative Cantrill, of Kentucky, formerly an opponent of woman suffrage, to make a motion in the committee for a favorable report, together with the expected support of friends we already have on the Rules Committee, there seemed every chance that the committee would recommend the appointment of the suffrage committee. A vote was expected even as promptly as that day or the next. Representative Harrison, of Mississippi, however, a Democratic member of the committee, gave a statement to the afternoon papers which read as follows: "I shall never vote to create a special committee on woman suffrage so long as any suffrage organization continues the practice of picketing the White House and the Congressional office buildings." Mr. Harrison added, in conversation with friends, that two other members of the Rules Committee shared his attitude, and it has since been learned that these members are both suffragists and both Republicans.

At this writing the action of the Rules Committee is still pending. Every means is being used by the National Association's Congressional Committee to persuade these three members of the Rules Committee to alter their attitude. If they do not, our chance in the Rules Committee is seriously endangered.

In the Senate

Senate Joint Resolution No. 2, introduced by Senator Jones, of New Mexico, and embodying the federal woman suffrage amendment, is now before the Woman Suffrage Committee of the Senate. A hearing was granted to the National American Woman Suffrage Association on April 20. The committee is composed of the following Senators:

DEMOCRATS

Andrieus A. Jones, of New Mexico
Robert L. Owen, of Oklahoma
Joseph E. Ransdell, of Louisiana
Henry F. Hollis, of New Hampshire
Ed S. Johnson, of South Dakota

REPUBLICANS

Wesley L. Jones, of Washington
Knute Nelson, of Minnesota
Albert B. Cummins, of Iowa
Hiram W. Johnson, of California

There is every reason to expect the report to be favorable, and the resolution will then be on the calendar of the Senate.

Suffrage Fashion Notes

Pumps and garden hose will be much affected by suffrage workers this summer.

Masculine designs for suffrage work include what men milliners in politics consider a good, practical model to slip on instead of the Federal Suffrage amendment. It is made of star spangled chiffon cloth, elaborately trimmed with red tape. The "waste" is cut on straight lines with very little bias in favor of a square deal. Red Cross buttons are conspicuously used for closing the argument. The open seams are fagotted with highly colored yarns and the whole is built upon a state constitution with suggestions of referendum fringing the edge. As the creation is developed of transparent materials, a cloak of patience, prudence and piety is recommended. (B. G.)

Suffrage Gains Abroad

By Ida Husted Harper

WAR was declared in Europe in 1914 at just the moment when there was an excellent prospect for woman suffrage in several countries, and for awhile it was thought that all further progress would be delayed until the war came to an end. Subsequent events have proved that, on the contrary, it has been accelerated.

Denmark was the first to act, and the following year its Parliament adopted a new constitution granting universal suffrage to women on the same terms as to men. This was signed by the King June 5, 1915. The Parliament of Iceland also gave full suffrage to women that year.

The Parliament of The Netherlands debated for days in 1916 the proposition to put into its new constitution a clause giving the suffrage to women. This was finally defeated, but it was provided that hereafter the Parliament itself should have power to enfranchise women without a referendum to the voters, as required by the old constitution. It also made the astonishing provision that women should be eligible for election to the Parliament. Dutch women may now sit in the highest governing body, but may not vote for the lowest official in the kingdom.

In 1916 began the series of remarkable victories in Canada, when the Legislatures of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta conferred the complete Provincial franchise on women. The Legislature of British Columbia submitted the question to the voters and it was carried in every district by a majority of about two to one. In February, 1917, came the amazing news that the conservative Parliament of the old and thickly settled Province of Ontario had granted the full suffrage to women. It is an unsettled question whether these new rights include a vote for members of the Dominion, or national, Parliament. It is held that they do in Ontario, Manitoba, and British Columbia, but that the constitutions of Alberta and Saskatchewan limit this right to "males." To equalize the situation a bill has been introduced in the National Parliament at Ottawa calling for legislation that will either grant to women who are entitled to vote for members of a Provincial Legislature the right also to vote for members of the National Parliament, or else to grant this right to all the women in the Dominion. It will await the return of Premier Borden from England.

In the closing days of 1916 came the announcement from Great Britain that the Conference, or Committee, appointed by the Speaker of the House of Commons to bring in a report on various extensions of the suffrage would probably recommend the inclusion of some women, with the sanction of Prime Minister Lloyd George, ex-Premier Asquith, and various members of the Cabinet. The report of this Conference has now been made the basis of the Government's Franchise Reform bill, which was presented May 15. It proposes to give the Parliamentary vote to all women who are on the local Government register, and also to the wives of all men who are on that register. The women must be thirty years old. Heretofore only widows and spinsters who paid "rates" or rent could have a place on that list (which entitled them to the municipal franchise), and wives who would not vote on the same "rates" or property as did their husbands.

This bill includes various other changes and reforms in the suffrage and must go through both Houses of Parliament, the Commons and the House of Lords. The suffrage associations will not willingly accept the advanced age limit, and the labor organizations of both men and women will object vigorously to the tax or rate-paying qualification. Although this is very small, it has been sufficient to keep from one-fourth to one-third of the men disfranchised. Now it is proposed to remove it in the case of men, but continue it in the case of women. As this is a Government bill, it will not be shelved, and after it has been thoroughly threshed out there will undoubtedly be left some grains of Parliamentary suffrage for women.

The very interesting situation in Russia regarding woman suffrage is described at length in another column.

The leaders of the Social Democratic party in Sweden have introduced a bill in the Parliament for universal suffrage for men and women. The Liberal Party has long been committed to it. A bill to enfranchise women has several times passed the lower house by a large majority in the last seven or eight years, once unanimously, but always has been blocked in the upper house, which is not elected by direct vote. At present the Conservative Party is in power, but seems to be nearing its end. Sweden is the only Scandinavian country in which women are not fully enfranchised, and its archaic upper house will not long endure.

The news which filters through from Germany indicates that in the growing demand for equality of suffrage rights for men voices are often heard asking that this shall be extended also to women.

A new Labor Party which has recently been formed in Roumania has included in its program votes for women.

Susan B. to the Femme Incomprise

"Now my dear, the trouble is you fail to recognize that your husband is so constituted that he sees the practical while you feel only the sentimental. He does not jar your feelings any more by his matter-of-fact comments than you jar his by flying off into the realms of poetry on every slight provocation."

The Woman's Department at our Fifth Avenue Office is in charge of Miss V. D. H. Furman and is especially equipped to handle the accounts of women and women's organizations

COLUMBIA TRUST COMPANY

358 FIFTH AVENUE

We are sometimes called the Official Suffrage Bank

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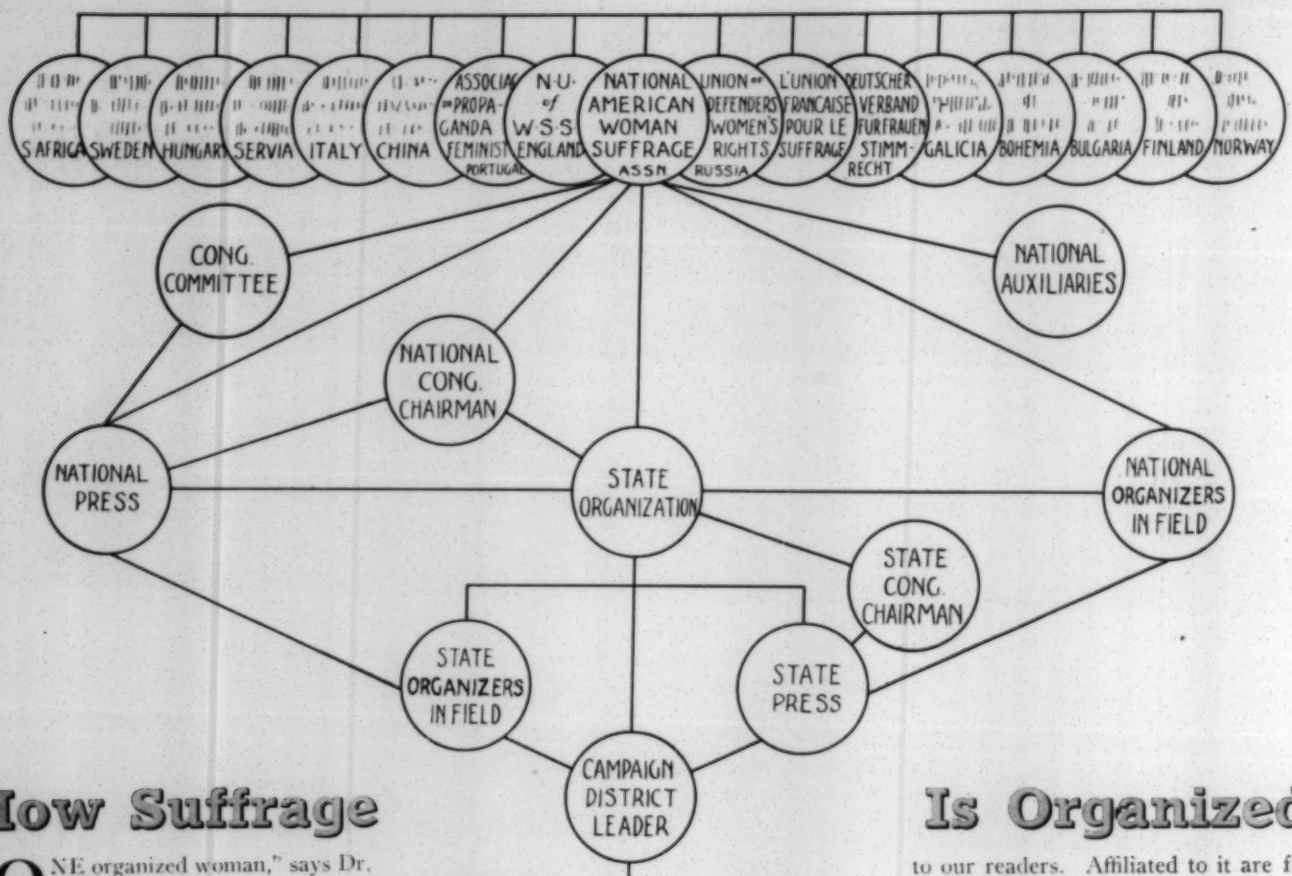
HUNDREDS MORE ARE NEEDED

Let Your Slogan Be

Suffrage and Service

MARY GARRETT HAY,
Chairman of the N. Y. City Woman Suffrage Party.

MRS. F. LOUIS SLADE,
Chairman War Service Committee Woman Suffrage Party of New York City.



How Suffrage Is Organized

"ONE organized woman," says Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Honorary President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, "is more effective than one hundred unorganized women." It's true. Suffragists prove it every day of their organized existence. Indubitably suffragists are organized. From the ground up and from the top down. Organized internationally, and nationally and, in America, by states and assembly districts and election districts. We are not going into international organization here further than to point out that the diagram indicates as many as could be crowded in of the 26 national organizations that hang suspended from the organization known as the "International Woman Suffrage Alliance." Those that were crowded out are Austria, Australia, Denmark, Canada, Iceland, the Netherlands, Rumania, Switzerland, and Belgium.

Each national suffrage organization presents a structure that conforms to certain general requirements, but takes on special features and subdivisions to meet the political and geographical situation confronting it. Of these 26 organizations the National American Woman Suffrage Association has been selected for the purposes of the diagram, as the one of closest interest to our readers. Affiliated to it are four other national organizations, each of national scope on its own account. They are the National College Equal Suffrage League, the National Men's League for Woman Suffrage, the National Council of Women Voters, and the Friends' Equal Rights Association.

Representing the "National" in its work for the federal suffrage amendment is its Congressional Committee, with headquarters at Washington, D. C. There are fourteen members of this Committee, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Maud Wood Park. The Committee has charge of the National's suffrage lobby in Washington. Supplementing its activities are 44 congressional chairmen, appointed by 44 State organizations to represent the National each in her own State, and 42 "Congressional Aides"—women who relay at Washington as lobbyists for the suffrage amendment.

From the diagram it is apparent that the "National" has four distinct points of contact with "the field," making an unbroken circuit through which the currents of suffrage energy and activity flow out and double in. It has its congressional chairman in each State, appointed by the head

(Continued on page 17)

THE WOMAN AT THE BOTTOM OF IT

of the state organization; it has its Press Bureau; it has its organizers out in the field (note that when the National's organizers are in the field they are under the state organization and linked to it directly); and it has the great state organizations affiliated to it.

There is a state suffrage organization in each of the 37 states that have not yet secured full suffrage. New York State's suffrage organization has been selected to show the coordination of state suffrage work with national suffrage work and with the individual's suffrage work. New York is one of the most systematically organized states in the Union, so far as suffrage work is concerned, and is, moreover, a campaign state. Its suffrage organization is known as the New York State Woman Suffrage Party: Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse is the Chairman.

Up to 1915 there were no less than five significant suffrage organizations in the Empire State, only loosely associated in what was then the New York State Woman Suffrage Association. Under the leadership of Mrs. Catt, a complete unification was effected and now the state organization is in orderly sequence with the election district as the first unit.

In 36 other states organization has been completely or partly effected along the lines presented by the diagram. It will be noted that the congressional chairman appointed by the State Party for the "National" affords an extra link in the coordination chain. Reference to the diagram shows, too, that the National's Press Bureau plays directly into the state organization, affording help through its various services.

But New York's state organization has four direct points of contact with its own field. It has its congressional chairmen (43 of them); it has its own press bureau; it has its state organizers; and it has its great political subdivisions known as "Campaign Districts," arbitrarily set off and in some cases including as many as eight counties. There are in New York twelve campaign districts, each under the direction of a "leader". (Greater New York, for instance, is one of these campaign districts though Miss Mary G. Hay, its leader, is better known as the "City Chairman.") This campaign district organization again has three points of contact with "the field." It has its county, or borough, representatives, and it has its assembly district organization with a "leader" (150 leaders). County and Borough also find a common focal point in the assembly district organization. At three points again the assembly district organization touches "the field." There is in each large city in each assembly district a city chairman and a press bureau; and there is the election district organization, with its captain (5,651 captains). And, finally, supporting the election district captain, is the individual worker whose intense commitment to the suffrage cause makes the whole superstructure possible and inevitable.

Woman Suffrage in Russia

(*Continued from page 12*)

has not been a single revolutionary movement in Russia in which women have not participated. Their revolutionary record has no equal in any other country. Even many daughters of the Russian aristocracy and of the highest bureaucracy have joined the ranks of the revolutionary propagandists. One needs only to recall the names of Sophia Perovskaia, of Vera Zasulitch, of Vera Figner, of Maria Spiridonova, of Katherine Breshkovskaia, to bring into memory whole chapters of great social and political movements. With the utmost disregard for their own lives, they have avenged or attempted to avenge the outraged victims of the Czardom. Those who desire to get a true picture of Russian women in the battle for freedom need only to read such works as George Cannan's "Siberia and the Exile System," Maxim Gorki's "Mother," and Leonid Andreiev's "Seven Hanged"; there they will find proof that Russian women know how to live and how to die for freedom's sake.

It would be superfluous to dwell at length on the fact that Russian women have been and are represented in the councils of the political parties of Russia. Some of them enjoy international reputation. And their voice is surely bound to be heard in the coming Constitutional Assembly of Russia, which is to shape the destinies of 170 million people. The chances are that their influence for peace is going to be a strong factor in that body. Even the suffrage literature of 1915 breathes deep longing for peace, although Russian women have never shrunk from doing their duty during the war.

Lack of space forbids me to touch upon the brilliant record of Russian women in arts and sciences, despite the various legal and administrative restrictions which hampered them in this field. The present revolution will undoubtedly set free their latent powers in this direction.

To conclude: educated Russian men have always regarded women as their full-fledged companions. Russian workingmen, who are the strongest factor in the present revolution, are staunch supporters of Socialism, and, of course, stand for unrestricted suffrage for both sexes. Public opinion is liberated, revolutionary Russia does not need to be converted to woman suffrage: it was ready for it even before the Revolution.

No Irish Settlement Without Woman Suffrage

IRISH women who believe in suffrage believe also in preparedness. In Dublin they are not letting the grass grow under their feet, but have already sent to the Lord Lieutenant, the Chief Secretary, and the Irish members of Parliament a resolution "urging upon the Government the need to include Ireland in any measure granting the franchise to the women of England and Scotland."

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When volunteer recruiting for the army was going on this spring, woman suffrage Nevada had 94.4% of its quota by the end of the first three weeks in April, while male suffrage New York had 14.6%.

Oregon, where women vote, had 99.5%, while Pennsylvania and Massachusetts—which have recently refused to consider votes for women in war time—had 13.7% and 11.9% respectively.

Indiana, which has recently given women almost complete suffrage, had 45.6%; Utah, which has had women suffrage for 21 years, had 40.7%, and Illinois had 28.3%. But Maine, still safe from the "feminization" of equal franchise, had 10%.

If the purpose of sending the Joffre expedition through the country was to arouse enthusiasm, it ought to have gone through New Hampshire, Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey and New York, and if there had been time through several of the Southern States, where the idea of male protection of the female still ramps and rages, and assures the universe that "war is man's job."

On a reconsideration the equal suffrage amendment to the constitution of Florida was lost in the House by a vote of 39 for and 31 against, a three-fourth majority being required.

"Madam, Who Keeps Your House?"

THIS new and telling SUFFRAGE WINDOW DISPLAY can be used in shop windows or set up on a table to illustrate a suffrage talk. It consists of two pieces substantially made. Front piece, size 27 x 43", shows thirteen City Officials walking from the City Hall to the home. The Ashman, Garbage Man, Street Cleaner, etc., are graphically portrayed.

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Will the Root Commission to Russia help or hinder the enfranchisement of Russian women?

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America and the Immigrant

(Continued from page 13)

the Russian revolution. We showed pictures of Russia, scened in Moscow and Petrograd, and then we proceeded to our own country, showing the beautiful scenery of the great West, where women have the vote, put in our facts and figures in regard to woman suffrage, and closed with a tribute to the great suffragist of the hour, President Wilson. His picture was thrown on the screen, with scenes of the White House and the Capitol, and the pictures closed with one of our own flag. The discussion which followed dealt with the high cost of living and the necessity of women having a voice in the government if there is to be proper food regulation. The follow-up work among the Russian Jews is to be through furnishing opportunities for squads of these women who are already schooled in field work to secure plots for gardens.

"Our third meeting was a Scandinavian meeting, held at the Boston Equal Suffrage Headquarters. A stereopticon lecture was given, with scenes from Norway, Finland, Iceland, and Denmark. In greeting the Scandinavians our lecturer acknowledged the debt of gratitude of the women of the whole world to Scandinavia for its pioneer work in woman suffrage.

"The district plan of organization of the National American Woman Suffrage Association makes it possible for American suffragists to carry on an organized Americanization movement extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. My new committee's answer to the call to the colors lies in giving the word 'Americanization' a new and definite meaning, and suffragists can render no more needed patriotic service than to break down the wall which separates the native-born American from the immigrant alien, and establish a common ground in which mutual respect, appreciation, and confidence may germinate and grow. President Wilson in his message to Congress said: 'We are a composite and cosmopolitan people. We are a people of many bloods.' We must also be a united people."

The tentative program for Americanization for the National American Woman Suffrage Association which Mrs. Bagley has projected is as follows:

Appoint a chairman of Americanization for each State, such chairman to be chosen in consultation or with the approval of the President of the State Suffrage Association, the work to be carried on through the channels provided for suffrage work.

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Naturalization

The why and the how.

Employment of alien women in war times

Health, wages, hours, living conditions.

Child and juvenile welfare

(*a*) Care of infants and children whose mothers are employed in munition factories and other forms of industry.

(*b*) Juvenile delinquency; it has increased 34 per cent. in England since war began.

Foreignization of Americans

The average American's unfriendly or deprecatory attitude.

How to utilize the suffrage speaker and the suffrage meeting to change this attitude of mind.

Injustices of our immigration laws

The need of personal service in disentangling the problems concerning the immigrant.

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